

## Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY BRASILIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 213086

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, BR, US, XA

SUBJECT: LETTER FROM THE SECRETARY TO FOREIGN MINISTER  
SILVEIRA ON AFRICA

1. PLEASE DELIVER FOLLOWING LETTER FROM THE SECRETARY TO  
FOREIGN MINISTER SILVEIRA:

2. BEGIN TEXT: DEAR ANTONIO: FURTHER TO MY COMMENTS ON  
YOUR NAMIBIA AND RHODESIA STUDY AND TO OUR DISCUSSIONS OF  
AFRICA IN SANTIAGO, I THOUGHT IT MIGHT BE USEFUL TO SET  
DOWN AT SOME LENGTH AND IN WRITTEN FORM SOME OF THE IN-  
SIGHTS AND CONCLUSIONS STEMMING FROM MY MAY TRIP AND DIS-  
CUSSIONS WITH AFRICAN LEADERS AND MY MORE RECENT TALKS  
WITH SOUTH AFRICAN PRIME MINISTER VORSTER.

I VISITED AFRICA PRECISELY BECAUSE ITS IMPORTANCE AND ITS  
ASPIRATIONS DEMAND MORE ATTENTION FROM THE UNITED STATES.

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I FOUND IMPRESSIVE AFRICAN LEADERS IN VIGOROUS PURSUIT OF

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THEIR COUNTRIES, POSSESSING BOTH THE REALISM AND THE IDEALISM REQUIRED FOR SUCCESSFUL NATION BUILDING.

AS ONE WOULD EXPECT, THERE ARE DIFFERENCES OF VIEW AND EMPHASIS AMONG THESE CHIEFS OF STATE. BUT ALL AGREED ON THE QUESTIONS OF PRIMARY INTEREST -- SOUTHERN AFRICA, NATIONAL SECURITY, ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, RELATIONS BETWEEN THE DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING NATIONS AND EXTERNAL INFLUENCE IN AFRICA. ALL AGREED ON CERTAIN FUNDAMENTAL POINTS: THE NEED FOR A QUICK AND SATISFACTORY CONCLUSION TO THE PROBLEMS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA, PARTICULARLY IN RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA; OPPOSITION TO FOREIGN INTERVENTION IN THE CONTINENT; A DEDICATION TO AFRICAN UNITY AND THE SOLUTION OF AFRICAN PROBLEMS BY AFRICANS; A COMMITMENT TO THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THEIR OWN COUNTRIES; AND A GREATER PARTICIPATION IN THE DECISIONS WHICH AFFECT NATIONAL ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL SYSTEMS IN AN INTERDEPENDENT WORLD.

AS A RESULT, WE ARE UNDERTAKING CERTAIN INITIATIVES DESIGNED TO INCREASE OUR TIES TO AFRICA AND TO BRING THAT CONTINENT TO A MUCH GREATER DEGREE INTO OUR EFFORTS IN THE DEVELOPED/DEVELOPING WORLD DIALOGUE. I AM CONVINCED, AS YOU KNOW, THAT A PROSPEROUS AND PEACEFUL WORLD CAN BE ACHIEVED ONLY THROUGH THE GREATER PARTICIPATION AND COOPERATION OF THE AFRICAN NATIONS. IN CONFORMITY WITH AFRICAN VIEWS, I AM MAKING EFFORTS TO BRING SOUTH AFRICA INTO THE PROCESS OF RESOLVING THE RHODESIAN AND NAMIBIAN ISSUES. THIS WAS THE PURPOSE OF MY MEETING IN JUNE WITH PRIME MINISTER VORSTER. WE DISCUSSED THE WHOLE RANGE OF SOUTHERN AFRICAN ISSUES AND POSSIBILITIES.

WE ARE THUS FIRMLY COMMITTED TO A RAPID, JUST AND QUOTE AFRICAN UNQUOTE SOLUTION TO THE URGENT ISSUES OF THE CONTINENT -- MAJORITY RULE IN RHODESIA, A DEFINITE AND EARLY TIMETABLE FOR THE SELF-DETERMINATION OF NAMIBIA, AND AN END TO INSTITUTIONALIZED INEQUALITY IN SOUTH AFRICA.

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WE ARE CONVINCED THAT BY PARTICIPATING IN THIS PROCESS, THE UNITED STATES CAN HELP ACHIEVE NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENTS AND AVOID A RACE WAR. IN THIS MANNER, THE GROUNDWORK FOR FUTURE COOPERATION AMONG THE PEOPLES INVOLVED, CAN BE LAYED, AND WE HOPE THAT PERHAPS FURTHER FOREIGN INTERVENTION, INCLUDING THAT OF THE CUBANS CAN BE AVOIDED. AFRICAN LEADERS WERE CLEARLY WORRIED ABOUT THE PURPOSE OF THE 15,000 CUBAN TROOPS IN ANGOLA NOW THAT ALL OTHER

FOREIGN FORCES THERE HAVE LONG SINCE BEEN WITHDRAWN. AS YOU KNOW, WHILE CUBAN LEADERS HAVE CLAIMED THAT TROOPS WERE BEING WITHDRAWN FROM ANGOLA, THEY HAVE ALWAYS BEEN VAGUE AS TO THE NUMBER CURRENTLY IN THAT COUNTRY OR IN OTHER PARTS OF AFRICA, AND AS TO HOW MANY WILL REMAIN AFTER THE END OF THIS YEAR. CASTRO'S RECENT STATEMENT DURING NETO'S VISIT TO CUBA UNDERSCORES THIS AMBIGUITY.

FOR OUR PART, WE STILL DO NOT HAVE ANY FIRM INDICATION THAT A NET CUBAN WITHDRAWAL FROM ANGOLA HAS BEEN TAKING PLACE.

IN ATTEMPTING TO COPE WITH THESE PROBLEMS, I SENSE THAT THE GOALS OF THE LEADERS OF AFRICA ARE NOT DISSIMILAR FROM THOSE IN LATIN AMERICA. PRESIDENT TOLBERT OF LIBERIA, WHO IS VISITING THE UNITED STATES THIS YEAR, IS A STRONG REPRESENTATIVE OF INDEPENDENT AFRICA AND DEEPLY INTERESTED IN MODERNIZING HIS COUNTRY. PRESIDENT LEOPOLD SENGHOR OF SENEGAL IS AN INTERNATIONALLY KNOWN STATESMAN AND POSSESSES A PROFOUND UNDERSTANDING OF EVENTS BOTH INSIDE AND OUTSIDE AFRICA. PRESIDENT JOMO KENYATTA OF KENYA IS AN ELOQUENT LEADER WITH A VERY CLEAR IDEA OF KENYA'S INTERNATIONAL POSITION. PRESIDENT MOBUTU OF ZAIRE BRINGS AN IMPRESSIVE DEDICATION AND SERIOUSNESS TOWARD SOLVING HIS COUNTRY'S ECONOMIC PROBLEMS BROUGHT ON BY THE SHARP DECLINE IN COPPER PRICES. OUR CONVERSATIONS WERE MARKED BY THE FRANKNESS AND MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING ONE EXPECTS BETWEEN OLD FRIENDS. PRESIDENT JULIUS NYERERE OF TANZANIA, ONE OF AFRICA'S MOST THOUGHTFUL LEADERS, PLAYS A KEY ROLE IN THE CONSIDERATION OF THE PROBLEMS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA. PRESIDENT KAUNDA OF ZAMBIA, ANOTHER OF AFRICA'S DISTINGUISHED LEADERS WHO HAS WORKED HARD FOR A

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CONSTRUCTIVE AND PEACEFUL APPROACH TO THE PROBLEMS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA, FACES SERIOUS ECONOMIC PROBLEMS BASICALLY BECAUSE OF THE DEPRESSED WORLD PRICES OF COPPER.

THE PEACEFUL EXPANSION OF LATIN AMERICAN INTEREST IN THE AFRICAN CONTINENT IS IMPORTANT AND CONSTRUCTIVE. I HAVE ASSURED YOU ON VARIOUS OCCASIONS THAT WE WELCOME BRAZIL'S EXPANDING TIES ACROSS THE SOUTH ATLANTIC. BRAZIL OFFERS THE POORER DEVELOPING NATIONS OF THE THIRD WORLD A VALUABLE AND UNIQUE EXPERIENCE IN THE CONCEPTS OF ECONOMIC INTEGRATION, AND PRAGMATIC NATIONALISM. I BELIEVE THAT IN A VARIETY OF WAYS YOU CAN CONTRIBUTE TO AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT NEEDS, THE MAGNITUDE OF WHICH MAKES INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION INDISPENSABLE. THE INTERESTS OF OUR TWO NATIONS IN THIS REGARD ARE COMPLEMENTARY, EVEN WHEN

OUR SPECIFIC APPROACHES MAY DIFFER.

I DO NOT PRESUME THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS FINAL SOLUTIONS, ALTHOUGH I BELIEVE THAT THOSE WHICH WE PROPOSE ARE NOT INSIGNIFICANT. WE ARE MAKING A SINCERE EFFORT TO MEET AFRICAN ASPIRATIONS, IN THE BELIEF THAT IT IS IN OUR OWN INTEREST TO HAVE AN AFRICAN CONTINENT AT PEACE. AND I DO FEEL, AFTER VISITING MORE THAN HALF OF THE NATIONS IN THIS HEMISPHERE AND MANY OF THE KEY LEADERS OF THE AFRICAN

CONTINENT, THAT BOTH THE DEVELOPED INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACIES AND THE COMPARATIVELY MORE DEVELOPED COUNTRIES OF THE THIRD WORLD HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY TO COOPERATE AND PLAY A ROLE IN AFRICAN AFFAIRS, NOT OF INTERVENTION BUT OF SUPPORT.

I WOULD HOPE THAT YOU AND I MIGHT CONTINUE OUR EXCHANGES ON THIS SUBJECT, WHICH MIGHT BE AN APPROPRIATE AGENDA ITEM FOR OUR OCTOBER MEETINGS. I PARTICULARLY WELCOME YOUR VIEWS, RECOGNIZING THIS IS ONE OF YOUR SPECIAL INTERESTS.

WARM REGARDS. HENRY A. KISSINGER. END TEXT. KISSINGER

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